THE FRUSTRATION OF WALDO FRANK

By James L. Brewer

Our cultural community may well have been deeply stirred by the devastating dissection of the basic conditions underlying the world crisis, especially as it affects America, by the social philospher and cultural critic Waldo Frank in the June 19 issue of the liberal Nation under the title "Anti-Communist Peril: Rediscovering Our Roots."

The Nation has issued the article in pamphlet form terming it a remarkable document "exposing the pretensions of certain self-styled liberals and giving his own formula of true American liberalism." And in fact it is even more than stated, having veritable sweep in its penetration of the basic obliquity of prevailing American thought, liberalism's betrayal of its ideals and the pervert treasons of reputed intellectuals.

Frank, while acknowledging the existence of a "Communist peril", makes it secondary to what he calls a "Capitalist Peril", premonitory of a dying American order incident to a rot in the intellectual and moral life of the country. He finds in the hysterical, escapist delusions of the anti-Communist crusade a fatal failure of intelligence in a revolutionary world.

The Frank perspective is a massively impressive exploration of the sad state of human affairs in these times. Yet from his premises he appears to move to an anticlimax of frustration, particularly when he comes to pointing out any road of social deliverance. In fact he ends on a note of such futility as to be essentially nihilistic.

Paradoxically Frank addresses the prime challenge of world social crisis to an identity of basic value premises in the economy of American capitalism with those in Marxist communism. Both, he says, are to be found in the empirical philosphy of pragmatism and positivism, as expressed specifically in the scientism of John Dewey, most representative of American philophers. This visualizes the cosmos a mechanical device of an mechanical man, with a philosophy of social engineering, not the human being, but "an economic unit (finally military) primarily a total product of empirical conditions, an economic animal."

"By fiat and jail," Frank says, "Russia clumsilly achieves what the capitalist US brings about indirectly through the spiritual and intellectual malnutrition of its money-minded institutions. Man is practically excluded from our social order, as he is excluded in theory from the ideology of the Marxist church and in brutal fact from Communist political action."

Frank is revolted by decadent trends in western culture, which he attributes to the lack of a true philosophy of human nature, and which he believes are implicit in the values of communism and capitalism alike. In both systems consciousness is made a stereotype, "with the universal experience of the mystic, the saint, the artist, finally extruded," these trends being resident in the exploitative features of our acquisitive civilization "that correspond to what in crasser form we hate in Russia and in the effects of fraudulent aspects of our so-called liberties."

It is thus out of the realm of metaphysical mysticism and theological supernaturalism that Frank conjures his basic values upon which he stakes his sweeping indictment and damnation of the materialistic way of the world in revolution today, from which way he holds that the basis of true knowledge of men, aesthetic, metaphysical and national is fatally lacking. Piercingly he presumes to strip from society a mask of evasion of self-guilt, in our crisis, the demonological projection of that guilt into "finding a devil afield in the world."

We feel guilt because we feel rage at the frustration of our power says Frank, and adds to this: reproach of conscience for our luxury living in contrast with prevailing world poverty.

Communism in the United States, he says, "is a problem so infinitesimally small compared to the perils of our own culture in all its phases that any intellectual who does not know this, and act on it, is by that fact proved a neurotic." As to the Communist danger in the world, the first approach to it, and the last, must be the creating of positive values at home, recognizing no proof for the assumption that the Communists have planned a military conquest of the Occident.

Unsparingly Frank expresses scorn for what he terms the mental sleaziness of the anti-Communist intellectuals, particularly those ex-Communists transformed into hysterical antis. He finds their journalism of professed revolutionary opinion, "when the dangerous frontier of creative criticism has been abandoned, the outpost every decent writer must hold," has sunk to ignominious toadyism.

But, mirabile dictu, it would appear that Frank's brilliant exposition of the fatal failure of intelligence actually results in himself being hoist by his own petard of analysis, so that be becomes a victim of neuroticism of anti-Communist obsession he so starlingly elucidates, and finds himself in the crowning dilemma of his own diagnosis issuing in frustration and despair.

Frank harks for some new guidance to a sense of responsibility on the part of the intellectuals whom he has so mercilessly discredited. This predicates a recreation, he says, which, in this time of peril, veritably is salvation. "The auspices do not smile," he says, in a world we have almost globally antagonized, with naked power policy of military, genocidal so-called defence, a corroding culture and a bankruptcy of political methods without the will to understand.

Frank has brought the American condition to a "very ultimacy of crisis" to which fact itself he would desperately impart a conjuration of deliverance. To say "The very ultimacy of the crisis may make such auspices work" is the magic touchstone! He stops short of any concrete rational proposal of survival leavening for his idealized society to meet the competitive challenge of a new order in world-wide flower. He throws out the baby with the bath.

Russell Ames of Hampton, N.J., commenting in the Nation, finds that Frank offers no social program, not even the shadow of Utopia... he is against sin... "The chief effect of vague idealism and mysticism like that of Waldo Frank is precisely to make a man a victim of nature."

Another Nation reader has written: "We rail and rant and rage about communism. Are we unable to understand, or do we understand too well - that communism is competing with the United States in a race to create a better world for common people? Are we prepared to make the sacrifices to meet the competition? We cannot make up our minds to pay the price yet are harrowed by a guilty conviction that we should. Our solution of this dilemma is to stop Russia, whatever that means. We would block the march of an idea by creating armies, military government and a police state."

Despite Frank's talk of mystics and saints, he has no mystic's relish for an inevitable sense of a hard inner fact of God-propulsion - the life principle - at work in the very challenge and irresistable sweep of a social revolutionary dynamism of a new world in process, spearheaded by the Russian emergence from Czarism in 1918 and currently inundating a third of the globe. He would in sooth comfortably put this potential out of mind by sheer exorcism as absolute evil. For the comfortable use of this device he excoriates the virulent, ex-communist, crusading section of anti-communist intellectuals to whomhe attributes a "norm of low level submission to conformity where the poet becomes prostitute and the reformed radical becomes informer."

Edward Hallet Carr, British political scientist, in his book, "impact of the Soviet Union on the Western World." introductorily observed, "In the light of what revolutionary Russia actually has brought into the new world in social consciouness the exclusive democratic claim of America bears critical examination. The Soviet practice and example has been a legitimate and pioneer extension of democracy's potentialities and a fertilizing factor, indeed, in the development of the democracies of the Western world which have been in urgent need of re-inforcements against the disintegrating forces inherent in the individualism known as private enterprise."

Not remedially explicit in the world crisis Frank seems to refer for salvation to the rediscovery of our roots in the Christian ethics with its roots in Judaism. Frank's rediscovery, however, would seem to be quite different if not opposite to that advocated by the editor of One who goes so far as to say that it is Communism itself which is re-educating Christianity "by bringing it down to its roots in the Judaism of Jesus and putting it back on its revolutionary basis where it belongs.

Pertinent to this transcendent issue, as raised by Frank, the same source may be quoted (Protestant, April, 1952) from the article "Christian and Communist,"

"A new man is emerging in history. A qualitative human change foreshadowed in past centuries. Men and women are responding to new stimulations. They are turning from greed and lust to hunger and love. The creative artist at last comes into his own as all workers become creative and all work becomes high adventure.

"The men who set the stage for this great change did a thorough job. The old act ofspécious reform by Satan in a Sunday gown cannot be repeated as it has been repeated so often in man's aborted revolutions. These men thought to the root and acted to the root. They noted why and how men had been cheated of their heritage in past upheavals. They saw to it that this time the entire basis of life must be changed, not a new form of exploitation substituted for the old."

The same source directs to his fellow religionists certain suggestions as to "what to preach to Communists:"

"The reason we do not fear you is that you have done something that we long dreamed of but never dared do. You have done something that was at the heart of our own gospel, but which we denied was there at all. We envy you. That is God's truth. For you have given self-respect and meaning to the lives of the myriads of people on this earth, whose lives were wasted in want and disease and indignity."

"Let us, who have no right to tell you anything, tell you this: We believe that our gospel, not we ourselves, but the gospel we have been unfaithful to, has value still for you. We believe that you have not come to destroy but to fulfill history and that you will treasure and use all those ancient deeds and writings which have been a well of inspiration for those who down the ages have struggled for freedom and knowledge."

Bearing on Frank's reference to the Christian ethic One's editor says: "We have never tried to speak for organized religion, but have tried to speak to organized religion interpreting as best we could the contention of Jesus with respect to our time ... We shall continue to call upon Christianity to rise to the challenge of the Communal life that is sweeping the East. We shall keep on praying that Christianity may rise in fact to the level of its own Christ who is the real leader of world revolution."

Noting further the fallacy of comparing Communist fact with Christian theory, a common fallacy which conveniently forgets that the Christian fact in these latter days has been the Vatican State and various fascist states, among which fascist Spain was supported by Protestant nations while clerical fascist Vichy France was supported by Protestant USA, this editor makes further reference to the relation between Christianity and Communism which we shall quote at some length:

The Very Reverend James A. Pike, dean of the Cathedral of New York (Protestant Epicopal) had said in a sermon that the church had been in retreat in its social gospel, and had proposed that the church must rise to its responsibilities to address itself to "the conditions that breed communism." One commented.

"In the first place Communism is not bred by conditions. It is man's answer to conditions. In the second place it is not a condition of lack, of poverty, to which Communism is an answer. It is a condition of plenty, of wealth. Technology has provided this condition: bursting granaries, rotting crops, rusting machines, not too little but too much. So much that more than half the wealth of the world is squandered on war machines, some of which become obsolete soon after they are made, others being made to slaughter people who might consume the products of peaceful industry. Communism is man's answer to a constricted economy in which men march past warehouses full of goods they can't buy to murder their brothers in some far country which has released its economy from this insanity, or to shoot down those who advocate a similar release of the domestic economy.

"The Christian church, if it were independent of the economy of constriction, could comfort and encourage those who bring release. An act of humility is necessary before this can happen, humility before the act of the liberators. This act is primary. It is incarnation. It is baptism. The church should celebrate it, exalt it, present it to the author of life as a thank offering, identify it as a new expression of the unity of the human family."

Revelation of the fallacies in the Frank diagnosis of the spiritual test of the world problem is presented (One, May, 1953) when the importance of the act is expounded as contrasted with the Platonic idea or ideals of the realm of the counsel of perfection, as the fact of a true religion that is "baptized each day anew." Here is accorded recognition of the manifestation of God-presence in the revolutionary enterprise and in the world-wide quickening of the movement towards socialism.

"We fear that the initiative has been wrested from the 'sacred' by the 'secular' and that it will be some considerable time before it can be regained. This actually means that the churches have been very thoroughly secularized in the sense of being made worldly. The 'God' they worship is a named thing, not the Unnameable. As a named thing he is a closed door. In the face of the embarrassing poor he is a slammed door. Yet in the name of the true God (not yet pronounced on the lips of his children) the door is being opened - sometimes burst open!"

"....The road to salvation, the road to the only survival worth having, is the rough road of participation in the world upheaval on the side of the rising people.

"A new communion is the order of the day ... including so-called secular movements which are informed by the same spirit as that which informed Jesus. Not an ecumenicism of intellectual conciliation but a communion of warm hearts. Not a fitting together of old dry bones, but the birth of a new child. Somewhere in the old is the seed of the new.

"The new communion will be one of mutual instructions and inspiration. Its purpose will be to instruct itself and its neighbors in the spiritual dimension of a collective economy. For without this dimension (explicitly discarded by Marx but implicit in his motivation) the collective economy will deteriorate and disintegrate. Yet the collective economy is the natural and inevitable fruit of spiritual communion."

Waldo Frank himself begins to say this, but does not follow through: "Not man is threatened today, Man is rising and man will proceed having taken from us what he needs without the presence of our civilization, and this is a tragic pity for we have the seeds of truth in us, and which other men in their own time must sow again if we fail."

But man is threatened today. Just as he was threatened by that first great wave of fascism in Europe, so now he is threatened again by a new wave centered in America which, re-inforcing itself with all the remnants of that first wave, could quite conceivably and possibly, if it should carry out its intention, engulf and drown man and the very memory of man. I say could. And unless we realize that this could happen we shall be tempted to sit on our hands and cry about "a tragic pity."

Unless we realize what a close thing it was with Hitler and what a close thing it is with Dulles we will never properly appraise the role of socialist power in averting these evils. It is all too easy to say "Man is rising." In order for man to rise, men must die. And all too frequently they must die at our hands.

The sociologist Robert Lynd of Columbia University is bravely outspoken about this:

"The great issue of the time, man's hope probably, lies beyond the sea where one half the people on earth are struggling to their feet from feudalism and colonialism. Americans, despite their brave point four words are against this momentous forward push. We want things our own way. We cannot see in the calculated twilight in which we are forced to live that this is a historic period of institutional change when forgotten men are taking their fate in their own hands ..... In the rear guard fight in which we are engaged doing what we can the long time is on the side of democratic values but the new wave will probably have to flow back to us from across the seas. Asia, Western Europe, Africa, if they can escape our net and also avoid an iron-clad bureaucratic set-up, may evolve new patterns of living, collectively oriented democracy, when we Americans may be persuaded to resume our forward march to a way of life we can respect and in which we can once again respect ourselves."

Robert Lynd's medicine is hard to take. A spoonful of it would do Waldo Frank a world of good. Surely he can take it if a religious leader like Dr. E. Stanley Jones can take it when he cries out:

"It seems as if, with the western world flourishing with an unjust and competitive order, God had reached out and put his hand on Russia to produce a juster order to show a recumbent church what it has missed in its own gospel."

His wonders to perform!

CLARIFYING THE NEWS

By Louise Harding

The "Uninformed" Public:

Not long ago, Richard Nixon, vice-president of these USA, who entered political life with the aid of the China lobby, sought to get this country into the war in Indo-China. At that time, addressing a large group newspaper editors, he insolently referred to the uninformed public and thought the adventure should be entered into in spite of its unpopularity.

It is true that the person who reads one "news" paper - and that perhaps not very carefully - will frequently be misinformed.

A few instances:

SFChronicle, Aug. 6. East German Riot - Bremerhaven, Germany - This is a false head. Bremerhaven is in West Germany.

Dutch Skipper Was Attacked - but Was He? Very detailed stories appeared, quoting a Dutch ship captain as saying that a Russian cruiser deliberately fired at his unoffending vessel. Yet, when he arrived in port at Burghead, Scotland, he said he had never notified his owners tha he had been fired on. The Ivan had fired, "but was it at us?"

Truth, Half--Truth, Lies. At the time the British airliner was shot dov near Hainan island, some reports said that US aircraft sought out Chinese aircraft close to shore and shot down two fighters, others (UP, Aug. 5) said that the "two Red fighters attacked US Navy planes and were shot down." Poland charged that US planes fired on two Polish merchant ships while searching for the survivors of the downed British airliner. UP, Aug. 6, said that the US rejected this charge as "completely untrue."

Who is telling the complete truth. The "intelligent American voter has no means of finding out.

A number of repressive measures have been passed recently, ostensibly aimed at the Communists, but Herbert Hoover, patron saint of the Republicans, in a speech at West Branch, Iowa, as reported by AP, tore into the Socialists, hitting the Welfare State, Planned Economy, Security from Cradle to Grave, and poured scorn on what he said was the Socialist dogma of "the common man."

George Seldes, the great editor of In Fact, tells a few things about this press-canonized Quaker in his issue of April 30, 1945:

"Hoover has played probably the biggest role ever played by any American in establishing and fostering fascist governments in Europe, and it was Hoover who as Secretary of Commerce in Coolidge's cabinet helped the DuPonts arm Germany - one of the biggest stories of our time, suppressed in almost all the American papers." Seldes tells how Hoover wanted to please Mussolini by having General Smedley D. Butler court-martialed for telling how Mussolini ran over a child when speeding in an auto and failed to stop. General Butler told Seldes he didn't think Hoover would ever let the case come to trial. "Hoover sent his aide to me," said Butler. "I said: put me on the stand and you'll hear the stor of the Boxer Rebellion."

That was all. General Butler was released almost immediately.

Readers with long memories may remember that in the campaign literature of 1929 boosting Hoover as the "great engineer" it was also said that he had distinguished himself leading the besieged white folks against the bloodthirsty Chinese at Tiensin.

There were 2000 foreigners besieged; the attackers were 30,000 strong and fanatical: for several days it was touch and go as to whether any would come out of the siege alive, according to reports. The only troops left were 1700 Russians, and some British officers and a few men. They called on every able-bodied male civilian to hold the lines until help arrived. It there that Hoover was publicized as having

distinguished himself in the fighting.

But what does General Butler say?

"When we got to Tientsin we found all the able-bodied men on the wall, protecting the foreign section." said Butler, "Where were the women and children? We were told they were in a cellar. When I entered I found one man cowering among the frightened women and crying children. I kicked his....and him into the street. I did not know his name, not did I care who that coward was. Someone said later that man was an engineer named Hoover."

THE CHINA LOBBY IS BUSY.

Evidence that this is so turns up on every hand. An important instance is the forthcoming book on "The Hydrogen Bomb", written by two Henry Luce servitors, James R. Shepley and Clay Blair. It is a bald attempt to incite to "War - NOW" as Syngman Rhee puts it. It plugs for a "crash program," and argues that US could knock out all the big military centers of the Soviets, so they would be incapable of "massive retaliation" as Dulles puts it, or, in fact, any retaliation.

"Literally within two hours after the first Strategic Command bombers penetrated the Soviet early-warning system, the U.S. - if everything went according to plan - could put 1,000 atomic bombs of 500 kilitons' force on Soviet targets." Within a year after 1954 "most of the bombs in such a raid would be ... thermonuclear bombs of 15 megatons' force." A kiliton equals 1000 tons of TNT, a megaton equals a million tons of TNT.

Ironically, the USN & WR review from which we learned about this book says that conventional bombers are about to be replaced as the decisive military weapon. "The uninhabited aircraft, or guided missile is certainly just ahead. To maintain the balance of power, the U.S. must make this critical transition from bomber to missile in time."

Weep, oh US taxpayers, for all those aircraft wings - and they are still a-building. Why? Let us turn for the answer to "Pentagon Politics" by Col. W. L. Neblett, former national president of the Reserve Officers Association:

"Many billions of dollars have been and are being appropriated to build the B-36 and other models of heavy long-range aircraft. If the real facts ever got to Congress and to the public, this senseless waste would be stopped. We have had the same opportunity as the Communists to go from long-range bombers to rockets.... The Air Force is run by pilots who know little of war except the airplane.... These pilots let the rocket program flop. .....General McNarney has always been a strong supporter of strategic bombing. In the high positions which he held he has done much to cause the country to place its reliance on this obsolete weapons carrier. To meet the situation he retired in February of 1952 .... to take the Presidency of Consolidated Vultee Corporation at a salary rumored to be $100,000 a year. This company was the designer and developer of the B-36 and is the principal manufacturer of it. Like other four-star generals and admirals, he is costing the taxpayers $16,000 a year for life in retirement pay."

For several years McNarney managed the nation's Department of Defense. We are now informed that, with guided missiles, if the US were attacked, people would get just six minutes warning! Since this is so, wherefore all this blowing of sirens (and hot air) by defense officials who admit they can't defend? Answer: to fool our citizenry.

THE KOREAN WAR AND THE H-BOMB.

It has been largely forgotten how strong was the opposition to the H-Bomb in the USA, even especially among opinion leaders in science like Einstein, Conant, Bacher, Szilard, and others. Many who did not actively oppose it simply would have nothing to do with it.

Then to swell the ranks of the H-bombers came tremendous aid, according to Messrs. Shepley and Blair:

"The surprise march of the North Korean Communists into the Republic of South Korea on June 25, 1950, interrupted the campaign against the hydrogen bomb. The demonstrated fact that the Communists were willing to resort to armed aggression to achieve their world-wide aims sobered a few of even the most fuzzy-minded U.S. scientists. Arguments about the 'immorality' of the H-bomb began to sound hollow ..... Some scientists came over... and offered to help."

Contrary to this statement by the employes of Henry Luce's magazine, there never was any "demonstrated fact" that the north Koreans (and they were by no means all Communists) marched south and crossed the Parallel. By this present time in the world's history, furthermore, we have the word of Rhee's ambassador, Ben C. Limb, and of Rhee himself, that the Rhee forces started the war in order to crush Communism. But this fact is lightly brushed over by those who work for Luce - and by folk with less courage than perception as to what a tremendous reversal of US policy this disclosure necessitates.

If it be acknowledged that Truman and his backers practiced a deliberate deception on the world, the whole foundation falls from under the plan to strike at China because of her alleged "aggression" in forcing back MacArthur from the Yalu; and the denunciation of Soviet Russia for letting the north Koreans have arms is seen to be baseless: Rhee's secret documents (so long buried in the archives of the UN) show Rhee's plan to invade Manchuria.

Thus, the crime against Korea, all of Korea (both north and south wanted none of the bloody tyrant and US tool, Syngman Rhee and made that clear in the election that took place shortly before the war began) and the cowardly acquiecence in that crime by "liberals" of the allied countries, can be seen in the light of the above to have led the world to the development of the H-bomb and to kindred horrors, which may destroy all of us. Facilis est descensus Averni.

Just step aboard the roller coaster, folks! You may bring along your washing machines and television sets. Don't mind this comfortable gag in your mouth - you'll soon get used to it. Hold on to your hats and if you don't look ahead you won't be disconcerted by the fact that at the bottom of the slide lie the fires of the H-bomb and the other pleasantries of total war.

WAR ON CHINA.

On Sept. 19 Lewis Lichtenstein Strauss, chairman AEC and chief adviser to Eisenhower on atomic matters, appeared on the "Meet the Press" program conducted by L. E. Spivak.

In reply to solicitous inquiry by Spivak, Strauss said that, while he knew of no way of intercepting certain methods of destroying our citizens with H-bombs, nevertheless he was confident that the US could return as good as any other country could send. A fine prospect! Russia (to which Spivak referred repeatedly by name) and the US could annihilate each others' cities, subjecting millions of persons in both countries to hideous torture and death.

This sort of threat would be understandable if there had ever been the slightest intimation that the soviet countries intend to bomb the US. On the contrary , however, it has been in the US where, even before the end of World War II, influential persons began to talk preventive war. And the Dulles roll-back policy along with the open Nazi talk of revenge leave no doubt that war on Russia is contemplated. Such threatening talk is war-mongering and contrary to the UN Charter.

Lodge, in an effort to exclude China from the UN charges her with aggression in that she attacks free nations' ships. He says not a word about the US (with Chiang as a front) making war on China by blockading her coast. Such blockade is an act of war.

The action of Lodge is dishonest - it is disgusting effrontery.

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS

Schizophrenia, according to Webster's Dictionary, is a type of psychosis (mental disease) in which the individual loses touch with the real world and may develop fantastic delusions. From the actions and statements of certain large labor bodies it would seem that they or at least their leaders are afflicted with this disease.

ICFTU/ORIT is the abbreviation for the name of the inter-American regional organization of the International Confederation of Trade Unions. This is a world-wide affiliation of the anti-Communist trade unions of 76 countries, counting 54 million in their total membership.

They preach amelioration of the workers' position and of worker participation in industrial management and suchlike, but their chief pre-occupation is with anti-Communism.

The nature of this pre-occupation is disclosed clearly in the Guatemalan affair, in which a mildly New Deal government (supported, it is true, as Franklin Delano Roosevelt was supported by a small number of Communist votes) was bludgeoned to death by the USA.

The ICFTU official publication, "Free Labour World", in its August, 1954 issue, carried an editorial stating that it realized that the people of Guatemalan had been for a long time "playthings of colonialism, despotism....and the depoliation of foreign capital."

Moreover, both ORIT and the parent ICFTU joined in a statement of demands on June 25, 1954, which declares:

"Whatever the outcome of the events in Guatemala, ORIT reaffirms that it will continue to defend the economic and social achievements of the Guatemalan people, right or left;

repudiate the imperialistic policies of the United Fruit Co. and all interventionist policies;

strive to ensure that economic and social reform is carried out without communist interference and that the trade union movement is established on a democratic basis;

support the Guatemalan people's efforts to ensure that their freedom, sovereignty and economic and social progress are not curtailed in any way."

Yet the editorial in which this declaration is printed opens by saying, "The pro-communist government of President Arbenz in Guatemala has been got rid of," and goes on to say, "The task of ORIT was not to make a choice between the President and other ...elements.... ORIT's task was to exercise objectivity and impartiality in deciding which social and economic measures of the previous government should be maintained.." And so on and so forth.

Slightly confusing, isn't it? We shouldn't choose, but are glad the President has been got rid of; and, now that the Guatemalan people have been robbed of their franchise and stand naked before the robber, we must exercise objectivity and impartiality in deciding whether they should be skinned and scalped or just scalped.

In an article, reprinted in the same issue of "Free Labour World" from "New Leader" by Daniel James, entitled "Lessons of Guatemala" we are given the full treatment with Red beachheads, palpable threats and all. Stalin being gone, the role of chief villain is now awarded to Mao-Tse-Tung. It is Maoism which "has given Communism a new face in Latin America."

This author ends with praise and hope: "Castillo Armas and his army have fought the good fight - ours as well as theirs - and we should not begrudge them our praise. But their victory will be cause for real rejoicing only if it marks the commencement of a truly democratic and progressive era in Guatemala...." Amen, brother, heil hitler!

ONE

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ONE

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SCHIZOPHRENIC LABOUR

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